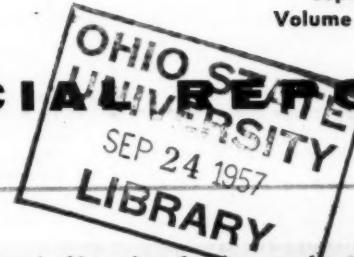


September, 1957
Volume 2, Number 8

SPECIAL REPORT



AFRICA's NEWEST PRIME MINISTER is Alhaji (a title indicating he has made the pilgrimage to Mecca) Abubakar (surname) Tafawa Balewa (indicating the town he is from in Northern Nigeria), golden voiced orator and something of a political dark horse, who took office September 2 in historic ceremonies in the capital city of Lagos.



ABUBAKAR

- Until now, Nigeria has had three regional premiers--the West's Chief Awolowo, the East's fiery Dr. "Zik" and the Sardauna of Sokoto in the North--but never an African head of state for the country as a whole. Thus, the British Governor-General's appointment of Alhaji The Hon. Abubakar, evidently with the general consent of the other political leaders, is a milestone for Nigeria and a major step in preparation for independence, which Nigerians are looking for in two or three years.

- The new head of Africa's most populous country (pop. 32,500,000) is a 44-year-old Moslem (not a member of the North's Fulani aristocracy) who leads the numerically largest party (Northern People's Congress) in the Federal House of Representatives and who has been serving until now as Federal Minister of Transport.
- Another major change occurred August 8 when the East and West were given regional self-government, with Premiers Awolowo and Azikiwe assuming the chairmanships of their respective executive councils, so that they, rather than the regional Governors, now have final authority in matters within regional jurisdiction.

IN WASHINGTON, the State Department says it will create its special section for African Affairs sometime this month--without, for the time being, an Assistant Secretary to head it.

- A bill authorizing the high level secretarial post passed the Senate but was lost in the house adjournment shuffle and passage is now not expected until January. In the interim, 37 persons presently concerned with Africa in the Near East, South Asia & Africa (NEA) bureau will be augmented by an additional 22 officers and clerks, largely at the policy advisory level. The new African Affairs Area will continue to be associated with NEA until its titular conversion to a bureau when an Assistant Secretary is named.

IN GHANA, scattered mob demonstrations and controversial deportations took the headlines as the former British colony reached the September 6 midpoint in her first year as a sovereign state. On July 31, Dr. Nkrumah's Government caused a furore by ordering the deportation of Bankole Timothy, Sierra Leonean assistant editor of Ghana's biggest newspaper, the Daily Graphic, and two Moslem Association Party leaders in Kumasi. The Government voiced a suspicion Timothy was "sent out here to cause confusion" and said the deportation did not mean freedom of the press was in danger. Timothy left August 2, offering little comment.

- The Moslem leaders appealed, a street fight flared up outside the Kumasi courtroom where they were being heard, and on August 23 the Government put them on a plane for Nigeria under provisions of a special bill rushed through the National Assembly in Accra that day allowing the Minister of the Interior to deport the men "without appeal to or review in any court." In the Assembly, Opposition members reacted to Dr. Nkrumah's action with cries of "Heil Hitler."
- On August 20, a crowd outside the Assembly booed Dr. Nkrumah and the following day police used batons to disperse another anti-Government crowd, reportedly critical of the deportations and of certain land policies affecting some of the Accra inhabitants. According to an Agence France Press correspondent, the overall situation remained "perfectly calm throughout the country" and "nothing appears to indicate that a serious political crisis is imminent."
- On August 29, Prime Minister Nkrumah told the National Assembly Ghana "doesn't intend to follow a neutralist policy," but he was sure Britain, France and the United States, with

(Continued on Page Four),

SPECIAL REPORT

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NEXT MONTH:

An intimate profile of SABRA (the key Afrikaner race relations organization of university professors and Dutch Reform clergy in the Union of South Africa) with an analysis of its relationship to the National Party, by Dr. E. S. Munger.

An analysis of the sharp growth in recent years of Soviet research on Africa, noting tactical changes and possible clues to future Russian action, by Christopher Bird.

Plus Africa Special Report's up to the minute reporting of news by signed correspondents in the U.S., Africa and abroad.

MAIL BAG

EDITOR'S NOTE: Africa Special Report welcomes comments from its readers but assumes no responsibility for publication of letters received and reserves the privilege of occasionally shortening letters to accord with space limitations when circumstances merit. No unsigned letters can be considered for publication.

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The New York Times

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Achimota, Ghana

COMING EVENTS

SEMINARS SCHEDULED

Two seminars on Africa, sponsored by the Residential Seminars on World Affairs, will meet this fall with intensive study programs for persons who lead in shaping public opinion.

One seminar is scheduled at Green Lake, Wisconsin, Sept. 29-Oct. 2, in cooperation with a number of state organizations. The other will be held in Rochester, New York, Oct. 10-13, in cooperation with the University of Rochester and the Rochester Association for the UN.

Further information may be obtained from Shepherd L. Witman, Director, Residential Seminars on World Affairs, 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania.

Rhodesia at the Crossroads

IN CENTRAL AFRICA, the prosperous young Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has come to a crossroads in its constitutional development.

This month, European leaders were readying voting proposals which will put the policy of "partnership" with the African, adopted as a guidepost when the Federation was formed in 1953, to a critical test.

The question is in large measure one of determining the nature of the Rhodesian political community and access to power within that community: who should vote, how much each person's vote should count, and how and when additional persons should be allowed to vote in the future. The answers Rhodesians are offering at the present time will influence heavily Britain's attitude toward their growing demands for the granting of independence.

Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky must hammer out constitutional arrangements in the multi-racial territory which will not jeopardize his Federal Party next time the overwhelmingly European electorate goes to the polls, probably in 1958. At the same time the new voting arrangements must offer sufficient security to the African to satisfy London at the constitutional conference expected to take place in 1960.

"Independence cannot be withheld from us much longer," Prime Minister Welensky said in June. It would be wise to await the outcome of the 1960 conference before making any final decision, he added, but he pointed to the "humiliating" effect of seeing "such countries as Ghana, Nigeria, and Malaya go ahead of us."

In Britain, the Federation's developing franchise situation was watched with much interest because of Britain's pledges to safeguard the interests of the indigenous African majority, particularly in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in the event of constitutional change.

The London *Times* indicated it agreed in principle with Sir Roy Welensky that government should remain in the hands of responsible, civilized people, but the Manchester *Guardian* suggested that "just as the Rhodesian leaders, even the most liberal of them, cannot go too fast with the broadening of the franchise, so the British Government cannot go too fast with the loosening of the strings."

AS THE FEDERATION moved to put its constitutional plans into legislative form, a complicated picture emerged in recent weeks from Salisbury, the capital city located in Southern Rhodesia. These were some of the developments:

On July 31, the Federal House passed by the necessary two-thirds majority a constitution amendment bill to increase its own membership from 35 to 59, by adding six special African seats (two for each territory) and 18 seats for persons of unspecified race chosen at large by the predominately white electorate. One purpose of enlarging the House was to provide a broader base for the selection of cabinet members. The bill also contained provision for the eventual disappearance of representation based on race alone. The proposals were intended to prepare the way for a liberalized franchise bill due this month, but were greeted with deep reservations by many Africans.

Mr. Mike Hove, African elected member from Southern Rhodesia, at first threatened to bolt the Federal Party whip, and finally voted for the amendment bill after receiving satisfactory assurances regarding the economic qualifications for the franchise which were to be introduced later. His compatriate, Mr. Jasper Savanhu, also voted for the bill, but resigned the following day because he did not feel he was repre-

RHODESIA FEDERATION PRESENTS MAJOR U.S. POLICY PROBLEM, SCHOLAR WRITES

An American scholar feels the United States faces one of its "greatest policy problems" in Africa "in the multi-racial territories of Central Africa, where white settlers are already almost completely entrenched in power."

Writing in the journal *World Politics* (Princeton University Press, July 1957), Prof. James S. Coleman, a prominent Africanist scholar at UCLA, contends the situation is "most acute" in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Independence from British rule now, or in the foreseeable future, is one of the last things most of the Africans in this area desire, Prof. Coleman writes. Prof. Coleman's remarks are part of a lengthy review of Chester Bowles' 1956 book Africa's Challenge to America.

In the Rhodesias, Prof. Coleman says, U.S. support for an arbitrary formula of "scheduled and full independence" is "patently inappropriate" and "precisely what the white minority desires most urgently."

Contending that the U.S. has "undoubtedly helped to speed up the movement for dominion status under white domination," he warned that "once this is achieved not only will we find ourselves in the same position of enforced silence and impotence as in the Union of South Africa, but the liberalizing influence of the British Colonial Office will be extinguished."

Prof. Coleman asserts that "very few Europeans in the Federation genuinely believe in any form of racial partnership which would command the loyalty and support of politically conscious Africans."

It could be argued, he says, that "the most liberal policy the United States could pursue in this area, as well as in Kenya, would be to support the maintenance of Colonial Office control—that is imperial rule—until such time as the African community is strong enough to hold its own."

senting the wishes of his African constituents.

At the same time, the Federation's African Affairs Board presented an official challenge for the first time since it was set up in 1953 to provide a check on legislation felt to discriminate against Africans. The Board requested that the bill be reserved for reconsideration in London, principally because it felt there was a relative diminution in the powers of Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Here Africans, or African bodies, would have exclusive say in the designation of 4 African representatives on a 59 member body, rather than a 35 member body, as has been the case up to now. (Although there would be additional African members in the enlarged assembly, they would not be chosen by African voters exclusively.)

One possible clue to the atmosphere in Salisbury: formation this month of an African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia, giving the territory the first active nationalist group it has had in years. Now all three Federation territories will have organized African movements, although this does not necessarily mean the Africans will form a united front.

The congress in heavily-populated, largely agricultural Nyasaland, where European settlement is limited, has taken an uncompromising stand against the very idea of Federation, wants Nyasaland to be allowed to "contract out," and in recent weeks went so far as to expel its leading representative, Mr. Welling-

ton Chirwa, and his fellow member in the Federal Assembly, C. Kumbikano, because the pair felt they could accomplish more in parliament than outside and refused to go along with the congress on a boycott plan.

In Northern Rhodesia, where Harry Nkumbula heads the congress movement, African feelings about Federation are said to be mixed. Here, much of the activity is focused around the Copperbelt—one of the world's major copper-producing areas—which plays a key role in the Federation wage picture and has been the source of about half of Federal revenue. In Southern Rhodesia, Africans seem more satisfied with the Federation plan, in part, possibly, because of a difference in temperament, but more directly in recognition of the economic benefits and of the fact that, in the case of Southern Rhodesia, alignment with South Africa could be the most likely alternative to Federation.

DETAILS OF THE NEW franchise proposals are exceedingly complicated. Two distinct sets of changes are in the mill. One is a change in the franchise of Southern Rhodesia only, for the election of the Territorial Assembly. The other is the introduction of a new franchise for the whole Federation, for the election of the Federal Assembly.

In Southern Rhodesia, the territorial Prime Minister, R.S. Garfield Todd, threatened to resign his leadership of the United Rhodesia Party unless the legislature accepted his plan to give voting rights to more Africans. Until now Southern Rhodesia has had a single common roll with about sixty thousand European voters on it and only about four to seven hundred Africans, although it is believed many more were qualified to register if they wished. The idea of the Todd plan, which was adopted August 22, is to add a second, "B" roll with lower financial and educational qualifications. The two rolls are to vote together for the same candidates. There was provision that the "B" list be closed when it reaches one-fifth the size of the regular, overwhelmingly European "A" list, but it was believed the new proposal would entitle additional thousands of Africans to a vote in Southern Rhodesia.

The proposed Federal franchise also envisions "A" and "B" lists and would for the first time entitle Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to a direct vote for the Federal Assembly legislature. The "B" or "Special" list would in practice be overwhelmingly African. Under the provisions of the July 31 constitution amendment bill, the "B" roll would vote for nine representatives for Africans—four Africans and a European to represent African interests in Southern Rhodesia and two Africans in each of the northern territories—in the enlarged 59-member Assembly. (This would be in addition to the two Africans already chosen by African bodies and one European chosen to represent African interests, in each of the two northern territories). However, Prime Minister Welensky has tagged on a highly controversial proposal that the voters on the predominately European "A" or ordinary roll should also vote for the nine "B" roll seats. On June 20, the London Times called this latter proposal "unacceptable," but a month later the Times had modified its position: "It is a pity this second provision has been left in; it seems excessively cautious." The Times said the proposals represent an honest attempt at political progress within the limits of existing political conditions and thus far should be welcomed.

In the Federation, Africans saw some "iffy" hitches. They were skeptical of a provision in the recent amendment bill stipulating that whenever, in the future, five Africans should be elected by the ordinary "A" roll electorate in any of the territories,

then the five seats reserved for African representatives from that territory would be eliminated, so that representation solely on a racial basis would eventually disappear. Did this mean the "B" roll voters would then be stricken from the roll? Also, it was asked, what would happen if the preponderance of Europeans on the "A" roll decided to vote in a group of "tame" Africans? This could bring about the elimination of special African seats, and the Africans could be turned out of office altogether at the following elections. If this seemed far-fetched, Africans at least wondered how much weight the "A" roll voters would have, in practice, in electing the special "B" roll African representatives, how much opportunity Africans would actually be given to move onto the ordinary "A" roll as the country developed, and how much protection the new proposals would give them should a segregationist government come into power.

Sir Roy Welensky will work out some of the answers against the backdrop of a by-election defeat in June at Mrewa, when his Federal Party lost a seat to the rival Dominion Party, a conservative group whose strength is said to be mounting. One course may lie in enlarging the electorate step-by-step, bringing in enough Africans each time to provide an electoral balance favorable to the next step.

Whatever happens, Africans had one consolation last month: the liquor laws were revised so they could buy European beer. Reuters reported sale of 4200 pints at one bar in the first 1½ hours after opening, with partakers greeting the more expensive "white man's drink" with pleased cries of "This is true partnership" and "The days of slavery are over." --R.C.K.

NEWS BRIEFS--Continued from Page 1.

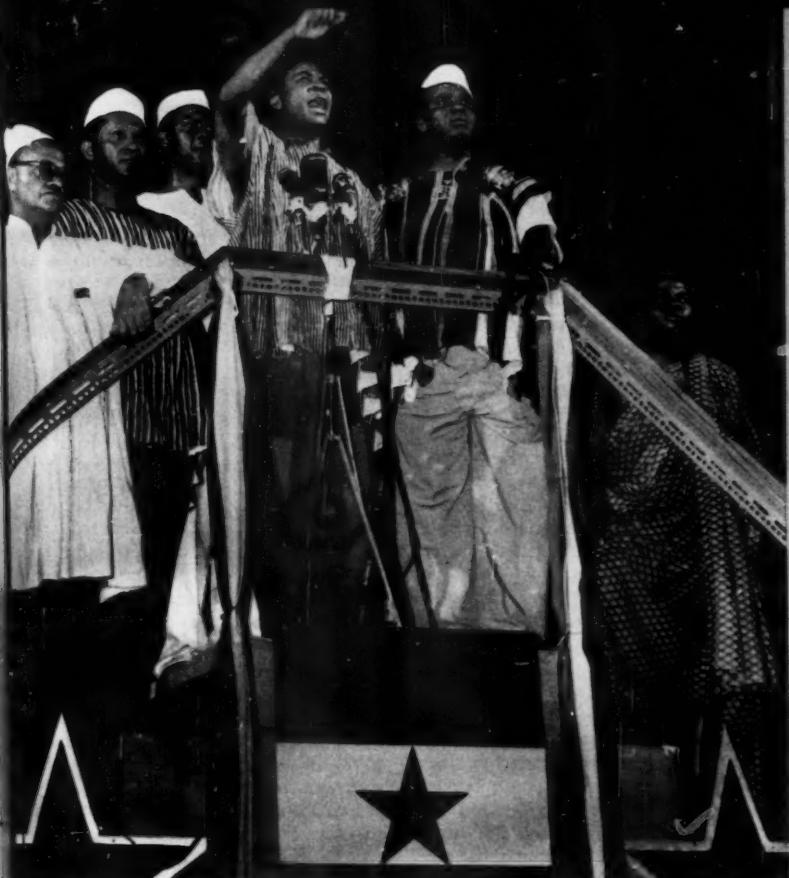
whom Ghana has close ties, would appreciate "the realistic reasons" why Ghana, as a small country, "should endeavor to preserve normal relations" with the Soviet Union and Communist China. He also said the Government was contemplating compulsory military service and would be setting up an intelligence service.

A UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION reported in August that a new French statute for Togoland instituted last September gave the UN Trust Territory "a large measure" of self-government, but the report suggested that France should publicly reassert that the statute did not denote the final relationship between Togoland and France.

BANNED FROM ENTERING the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Kenya and Tanganyika during a tour of Africa in July, George M. Houser, executive director of the American Committee on Africa in New York, has lodged protests with the governments of the three British East and Central African territories as well as with the government of Uganda where he was allowed to remain for five days under police surveillance.

Houser was turned away at a Northern Rhodesia airport as a "prohibited immigrant" and proceeded to Uganda where he was informed he could not obtain visas for the East African territories. In a statement issued after the banning was brought to light through press accounts and queries in the Rhodesian parliament, Houser said he had also been banned from the same territories in 1954. He asked the governments concerned to review his case and "at the very least" to inform him of the reasons for the prohibition, preferably publicly, "in order to prevent false speculation."

The Central African Examiner commented: "We have very little sympathy for the American Committee on Africa. Nevertheless the government must decide whether it is better to have ignorant or informed critics." --R.C.K.



DR. NKRUMAH AND TOP LIEUTENANTS AT INDEPENDENCE RALLY
Will he use "emergency measures of a totalitarian kind"?

Must Nkrumah Rely on State 'Socialism' To Speed the Development of Ghana?

BY R. B. DAVISON

"Capitalism is too complicated a system for a newly independent nation," says Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, in his recent autobiography. "Hence the need for a socialistic society. But even a system based on social justice and a democratic constitution may need backing up, during the period following independence, by emergency measures of a totalitarian kind."

To many Americans, as to many Englishmen, these words will come as a distinct shock—as a challenge to basic principles which are held to be fundamental. What, after all, is the main issue in the gulf now separating East from West on the ideological plane? Surely it is that the Western democracies repudiate the need for "emergency measures of a totalitarian kind."

The implications of Nkrumah's statement, not only in Ghana but in

Nigeria, in Uganda, in Malaya, and in the underbelly of the U.S.—the Caribbean—are far-reaching. Is Nkrumah right or is he wrong? If he is right, what attitude will America take (and whether she desires it or not, American attitudes are of tremendous importance in Africa today) as the "emergency measures of a totalitarian kind" come into operation and the "socialistic state" emerges?

Perhaps Nkrumah was not very discreet in his choice of words. He has conjured up emotions which are largely irrelevant to the problems with which

R. B. Davison, B.Sc. (Econ.), Ph.D., is a staff tutor in the Department of Extra Mural Studies, University of London. He was a member of the Faculty of Economics, University College of the Gold Coast, 1951-55, and is author of *Migrant Labour in the Gold Coast* (1955).

Ghana Information Photos

A Challenge To Western Thinking . . .

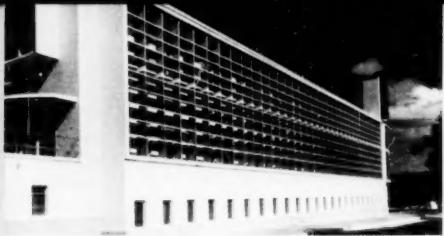
Ghana is at a significant stage of economic as well as political development, and fundamental issues are involved, the author writes. Under the pressure to show results quickly, will her leaders rely on political and economic systems that in Western eyes are repugnant?

"A material factor in the development of African thought will be the understanding shown by the West of the magnitude and complexity of the economic and political problems Ghana faces. In this situation the attitude taken by the United States may prove to be of crucial importance."

he has to deal. But then has anyone yet worked out a terminology which is applicable to an underdeveloped territory like Ghana? What a tragedy that only a somewhat soured Marxist ideology can be used to try to explain, and control, a situation which Marx and his associates never properly considered. What Nkrumah is saying—and his point is well taken—is that if Ghana is to develop economically it is no use at all thinking that Western economic institutions are the only ones available, or even the most promising.

But surely, it may be argued, given economic freedom, given state non-intervention, capitalism and private initiative will work a revolution in Africa just as in Europe and America? Well, perhaps they would—if they had the time.

There are, however, important influences at work which must be born in mind when considering the tempo, as distinct from the direction, of the economic growth of Ghana. For one thing, Africa is wide open to competition from the rest of the world, and she is far behind in technical compe-



Electricity House in Accra, headquarters for the Government's electrical development program.



A state housing project.



"The state is the dominant employer of labor."

tence.

Nkrumah knows that the sands of time will not run with him always. Unless he and his new African government can show results very quickly, they will come under two kinds of pressure—external and internal.

The external pressure will build up from the remaining colonial powers and possibly Central and South Africa, who will point, not without satisfaction, to a Ghana still wallowing in the backwater of undevelopment. The comparison will be still more striking if the material conditions of Africans in other territories still under white domination can be seen to have improved more rapidly than those of the citizens of Ghana. The most important danger to Nkrumah, however, is the threat of internal subversion.

Many eyes are on Nkrumah in Ghana, and unless he can demonstrate with each passing decade substantial improvements in the rate of economic growth at least comparable with those of other developing nations such as Nigeria, India and China, the political internal pressure on him will ultimately bring about his downfall.

Already Moscow has its agents ready to demonstrate to Ghana the "advantages" of the Soviet system and of being in the Russo-Chinese club. There is no reason at all at present to feel that Nkrumah will yield to these blandishments—but he must produce results, or he may be pushed from behind. Nasser, too, is beckoning and there is a substantial Moslem element in Ghana, particularly in the Northern Territories.

Furthermore, Ghana does not start with a clean slate. Her leaders have inherited a large state-created economic machine from their British colonial predecessors who built it almost against their better judgment, for very few colonial officials are "socialist" by inclination.

The state is the dominant employer of labor, both clerical and artisan, as well as the principal source of capital. The situation has come about because colonial administrators were faced with

the fact that if the state did not take the initiative, the economy would probably not have developed at all.

Look at agriculture. Because of political pressure from a group of educated Africans at the end of the last century, the land throughout British West Africa is fragmented into many thousands of small-holdings which are hopelessly inadequate to meet the demands of a coherent agricultural policy. One result is a whole army of African middlemen trafficking in agricultural produce. Absentee landlords, chronic debt, an uncontrolled flood of migrant labor have all appeared under British rule. Furthermore, whole stretches of the countryside in Ghana, once fertile cocoa areas, have been devastated by disease. This forms part of the agricultural picture in a country where one crop, cocoa, accounts for about 70 per cent of the value of agricultural exports.

Against this backdrop, the British were forced—at first by the war and then by the logic of the situation, especially in view of the fluctuating world price—to erect a huge state-created apparatus known as the Cocoa Marketing Board to regulate the export of cocoa. Although it was originally conceived as a producers' organization, since World War II it has been turned into a monopolistic state purchasing agency which has established complete state control over the marketing of the major crop. By manipulating the internal cocoa price the Cocoa Marketing Board has accumulated a large reserve of over 280 million dollars.

In drawing up his agricultural policy, what are the alternatives facing Nkrumah? He could, presumably, set about restoring complete "freedom" to agriculture by abolishing the Cocoa Marketing Board, or at least reducing the Board's present power until it becomes no more than an automatic administrative device powerless to affect economic policy.

By thus restoring "freedom" in the cocoa marketing sector of the economy (a "freedom" incidentally which

Nkrumah did not take away in the first place), he could by progressive stages withdraw the state from following any form of positive program for the diversification of agriculture. State services in this field would then remain advisory only, and because the agricultural officers are dealing in the main with illiterate peasants or absentee landlords, their advice would be in the future—as it has been to a large extent in the past—quite ineffective.

Or, Nkrumah could amend the land legislation in order to encourage the private formation of plantations which could operate at a considerably higher pitch of efficiency than the present scattered small plots. Such a move would bring down upon him the wrath of the traditional elements in the country, whose power under the new constitution is much greater than Nkrumah, left to himself, would have given them.

He might decide on a "socialistic" policy, aiming at the deliberate integration of agricultural holdings into large units and state—or cooperative—plantations. Here, again, he would fall foul of the traditional authorities. The British colonial administration never dared to attempt a program of "collectivization" (call it by another name if this one is objectionable), but local political leaders, once firmly in power, will not for long fail to see its potentialities. If the economy is to avoid stagnation, powerful arguments may be advanced in support of the view that a reorganization of agricultural holdings, with its inevitable modification of the system of land tenure, is unavoidable if agricultural productivity is to rise. If the present Ghana government shrinks from the politically difficult—but not necessarily inhumane—task, not improbably a new government will arise which may well tackle the problem in the same way that Mao Tse-tung is dealing with his agrarian problem in China.

Without a major reorganization of the agricultural sector, however momentarily unpopular, any noticeable development in the economy is bound

to be slow. And without economic progress the political situation will become increasingly unstable.

Look at commerce and industry.

The railways, the roads (but not the trucks running on them), electricity, broadcasting, and other public utilities are owned by the government and are subject to treasury control in the payment of wages. In the building industry the government dominates the scene. A new state agency, a housing corporation, has now entered the field to expand the work already done in the provision of houses by the Housing Department. Schools, hospitals, public buildings, bridges and new harbors are all controlled by the government, which therefore directly and through its contractors (whose power to determine wage rates is severely demarcated by contract) is the dominating factor in this important sector of a rapidly developing economy.

Mining is an important industry in Ghana and most mining operations are carried on by large firms, usually British expatriate companies. Gold, diamonds and manganese are the important products. In the diamond industry there has recently grown up an African alluvial diamond digging sector, with hundreds of independent diggers working under license from the government, but all diamonds must be sold either through a single bank or through licensed government purchasers. In the other sectors of the mining industry, from the point of view of the African miner, there are not competing firms. Many are interlocked in London, and all are associated with the local Chamber of Mines, which lays down wage rates for all the mines, with or without prior consultation with the Mines Employees Union.

Broadly speaking, outside the agricultural and mining industries, over half the employed persons are directly employed by the government, with wages and conditions determined ultimately by the Legislative Assembly. A large proportion of the remainder are employed by firms which are executing government contracts. There is no

hope of large-scale industrialization in Ghana today unless a plentiful supply of cheap electric power can be made available. Whether this comes from hydroelectricity (the Volta scheme) or from an unprecedented expansion of nuclear power stations, one thing is quite clear: private enterprise will not do the job alone. Look at any other sector of the Ghana economy—at transport, for instance, at welfare services, at water supplies—and the picture is the same. Unless the state takes the lead there is little hope that Ghana will develop, at least not for a very long time. Only the most sanguine observer would predict an automatic expansion of secondary industry in Ghana—let alone heavy industry—without the most active state intervention. Apart from mining and wholesale trading, the ball is in Nkrumah's court, and he knows it.

Nkrumah is reported to be an enthusiastic supporter of the Volta River scheme, for he sees in it the prospect of rapid economic development with the influx of a good deal of Canadian and American capital. But there are difficulties in the way. The damming of the Volta would mean submerging large tracts of country in the Trans-Volta Togoland region, as well as in Ashanti wherein centers the main political opposition to his regime.

Furthermore, the development of the Volta scheme could mean that developments in other directions would have to be curtailed or halted while all available resources were concentrated on the dam site. Local party members will not be happy when they are told that they cannot have their new hospital, their new well or new school until the Volta is dammed. They will be even less happy if they then discover that their cocoa money, held supposedly in trust by the Cocoa Marketing Board, has been spent on building the roads and public works around the dam and the smelter.

Above all, having won their political freedom, Ghanaians do not want to forsake it at once for what many of them choose to regard as an alternative form of subservience under "eco-

nomic imperialism." They do not want to become indebted to Britain, the United States or to anyone else to such an extent that their political freedom becomes little more than a sham. Africans are just as suspicious of American economic penetration as they are of British political domination largely because they believe, not unreasonably, that he who pays the piper calls the tune.

The Volta Scheme may yet become a vital touchstone of international good faith in economic affairs, and a lot will depend upon whether the black and white races can work together in this great scheme without either party feeling that it is getting the worst of the bargain.

Ghana is at a significant stage of economic as well as political development. Her progress—or lack of it—will be noted by many eyes, not only in the rest of Africa but throughout the underdeveloped regions of the world. The issues involved are fundamental and important.

The politically uncommitted nations are going to judge the present battle of ideologies between East and West not in terms of slogans or propaganda but in the light of economic growth. In Russia and China, the problem of underdevelopment is being attacked by political methods which not only repudiate the sovereignty of the market in economic affairs but also regard individual liberty as a secondary consideration.

If, however, they can demonstrate with each passing decade substantial improvements in their rate of economic growth, no amount of persuasion or military action by the West, unless accompanied by clear demonstration of the superiority of its economic systems, will prevent countries like Ghana and others in Africa at present in the Western sphere from turning to systems that in many Western eyes are repugnant.

A material factor in the development of African thought will be the understanding shown by the West of the magnitude and complexity of the

PRIME MINISTER Nkrumah and Mr. Kojo Botsio, now Minister of Commerce & Industry, examine bottles of peanut oil at the Crystal Mills. Other Industrial Development Corporation projects include baking, cigar-making, tire-retreading.



PROCESSION of representatives of various Ghana co-operative societies on the way to a rally in Accra.



FORMER GOVERNOR Sir Charles Arden-Clarke (center) inspects a machine which produces coconut oil in the Crystal Oil Mills, a subsidiary of the state-established Industrial Development Corporation.



COMMENT BY A GHANAIAN AGRICULTURALIST:

Ghana's Need for 'Agrarian Revolution'

By Robert C. Keith

Africa Special Report asked John K. A. Quashie, chairman of the Agricultural Development Corporation (A.D.C.) of Ghana, to comment on Dr. Davison's article. Following is a record of the interview:

Q. How do you feel about some of the statements on Dr. Nkrumah's policies?

A. Dr. Davison has written a fairly good article. However, he says "there are many signs that before long he will bring policies into force internally in Ghana which will be most unpalatable to the American and British taste." Kwame did not mean to the average thinking man in Ghana that he was going to import the ideas and ideologies and practices of the Communists into Ghana. This only meant to us in Ghana that he was going to collect the experiences of the various developing countries and use them in improving the economy of Ghana.

Q. Can you elaborate on this?

A. Dr. Nkrumah may decide to take these steps, which perhaps would be unpopular to the western way of thinking, so as to improve the economic condition of my people. I personally do not think there is any alternative to "totalitarian" steps. For example, the government had to establish statutory bodies in Ghana because the majority of the people are not investment-minded. These statutory bodies will eventually start projects—subsidiary companies—all over the country. When these become viable and profit-making, the shares, in time, will be sold out to the general public. As an example, the Agricultural Development Corporation has a few projects, notably a boat-building yard which we hope will become viable in four or five years. The shares in this small company have all been bought up by the A.D.C. but in 5 years if this boat-building company becomes viable the shares will be sold out to the Ghanaians and therefore will no longer be the property of the government. So it will be with other projects.

Q. How would this apply in the field of agriculture?

A. I will say here that the people of Ghana have peasant holdings and out of these peasant holdings were able to produce or to supply more than one-third of the world demand for cocoa. What remains now is an effective agricultural extension service to encourage farmers, with the results from research easily transmitted to the



MR. JOHN QUASHIE was interviewed in Washington, D.C. shortly after his arrival in the United States to observe agricultural extension services, animal husbandry, fisheries and the operation of young farmers' clubs. He is making a two-month tour under the auspices of the Department of State's International Educational Exchange Service program for foreign leaders. Formed by a government ordinance of May 16, 1955, the Agricultural Development Corporation which Mr. Quashie heads is one of several semi-official statutory bodies created under the initiative of the state to develop Ghana's economy.

farmer tilling his land, in order to get him to increase production per acre, and also to help us diversify our agriculture. This also brings up the question of consolidating the land. One of the objectives is to bring a number of small farms together into one to form a cooperative, with the farmers owning the shares. I don't think the government will be against estates. For example, rubber will be grown on an estate basis. The government itself decided to establish two cocoa estates in Ghana, one at Kukurantumi and the other at Dorma. This is being done through my organization, that is, through the A.D.C.

Q. We are getting into the question of land tenure. How do you feel on this?

A. I think Dr. Davison has raised some very important points on land tenure. I personally would like to see an agrarian

economic and political problems Ghana faces.

In this situation, the attitude taken by the United States may prove to be of crucial importance. British prestige remains surprisingly high in West Africa, but her economic power to aid her former colonies is seriously im-

paired. What of America? Will the United States offer economic aid only on impossible conditions about the form of political organization which Ghana must adopt? While Nkrumah is enjoying a wave of popularity at the moment, as a symbol of anti-colonialism, there are many signs that

revolution in Ghana, and I am sure that the Prime Minister is thinking seriously about this problem of land tenure generally.

The largest holders of land in Ghana are the Stools (Paramount Chiefs), who act as custodians of the land in their states. This land is farmed by individuals on small peasant plots. In addition, some land is owned by separate tribes (family groupings) and some by individual families. A small percentage is owned by individuals. The whole thing is a tricky business. A piece of land may cost only a few pounds to buy but then there may be expensive litigation that will go on for years. I would like to see it simplified and this is occupying the mind of the Prime Minister and he is now thinking seriously about it.

As an example, say someone—Mr. A.—owns a piece of land. Mr. X buys the land from Mr. A. After some time Mr. C. may come along and say the land did not belong to Mr. A. But to him, Mr. C., as a member of a particular family or tribe. Litigation ensues, and the cost of land becomes terribly expensive. My own opinion is that what we need to do is to survey the whole land, demarcate $\frac{1}{2}$ acre or 1 acre blocks, and specify what man owns it so we will have some way to stop all this litigation. I would like to see a law authorizing the government to demarcate the land with the requirement that it then be registered under its proper ownership.

Q. Would there be opposition from the chiefs and others who felt they had a traditional claim to the land?

A. It is an extremely complicated business. It would be a very big change for Ghana and would have to be done carefully with everyone knowing what it is about. The land so demarcated might be registered with the local or district councils, which the chiefs head.

Q. What other changes would you like to see?

A. In my thinking I would like to see cooperatives develop as has been done at Kukurantumi where we got 343 farmers to come together to form a cooperative society with their plots of land. This land went to a total of over 1,000 acres. This is what we are looking for, people coming together out of their own free will and accord to develop cooperative societies, to develop land adjacent to one another as we have done at Kukurantumi.

Q. Is Kukurantumi a "pilot" program for the country?

A. Yes. The Kukurantumi development has been underway for a year. We devel-

before long he will bring policies into force internally in Ghana which will be most unpalatable to the American and British taste. The important point is to realize that Nkrumah has a bitter job ahead in the economic sphere, and if he decides (or is ever compelled) to accept political measures which the

oped the program ourselves.

Q. Can a farmer be forced to join the cooperative?

A. No. We are a commercial organization, and furthermore, there is no ordinance in Ghana to force people to join cooperative societies. We have not had any difficulty with farmers refusing to join together. If a certain farmer did not want to join the cooperative and his plot of land was directly in the middle of the site selected, we would simply select another site. We do everything by ourselves, according to the policy of the board, and government is there only to see that we do not throw public money into the gutter. A.D.C. wants to get the people to come together and give the land out of their own free will and accord—we do not want to force anyone; people would resent you if you do.

Q. What if the government itself decides the consolidation should take place, even if a farmer objects?

A. People come to us and ask us to develop their land. I doubt the question would ever come up, because Nkrumah does not like force. He believes in winning people over gradually as he has been doing ever since he became political leader. He would never use force, except in some extraordinary emergency which is difficult to foresee. Of course, when Dr. Nkrumah finds that he wants a thing done as far as land is concerned, for a special purpose such as a pilot project, and the people in the area try to raise the price of the land, the government should pay only the prevailing price.

Q. Do you agree with Dr. Davison on the political difficulties involved?

A. Yes. Dr. Davison is trying to give the correct picture of what happens to politicians, when other politicians would like to make capital of small difficulties which arise. I think the Prime Minister should be firm even though he may be politically unpopular for the next year or two as a result of using his authority to better the economic conditions of the people.

Q. Returning to your own cooperative program, what incentives are there for the farmer to participate?

A. The incentive to the farmer—in ten years time perhaps—is making a profit without using any of his own money. Many chiefs in Ghana when they heard we were starting these estates wrote and asked us to come to them.

Q. Would you elaborate on the mechanics of the scheme, perhaps using Kukurantumi as an example?

A. Kukurantumi is still in the planning stages. The people still own this land individually, but they have joined together



OPENING COCOA PODS

in a cooperative society. The next step will be for the A.D.C. and the cooperative to form a company, using money borrowed from the government. The cooperative society will invest its land in the company, receiving shares equal to the value of the land. Then the company will go ahead and develop the estate, using the borrowed government money from A.D.C. The cooperative society and the A.D.C. will each own percentage of the shares of the company and the two of us will recoup the money and perhaps a little profit, say within 20 years. A.D.C. will pay the money back to the government after a certain period. The period of repayment does not begin immediately and the interest rates are small. When the money is repaid and the A.D.C. function is completed, A.D.C. will pull out and the full ownership of the company will go to the cooperative society and its members. That is the plan.

Q. Do the statutory bodies like A.D.C. work at any other level, other than the

development of these cooperatives and subsidiary companies?

A. Yes, for one thing we work in ways that give a sense of security to the farmer. Because of these statutory boards, the farmers are sure to have continuous marketing facilities for their crops and furthermore these statutory boards subsidize the price paid to the producer in time of severe slump in the world market. The Cocoa Marketing Board is doing that right now, subsidizing the cocoa producers in spite of the fact that the price in the world market is reduced to a catastrophic level. The A.D.C. had also subsidized the coffee producers in 1955-56 when there was a heavy cut in the price of coffee as a result of Brazil's devaluation of its currency in relation to coffee. So these boards are there to guarantee a steady price for the producer, thereby giving him an incentive to continue to produce export crops.

West does not like, that does not mean that he must be driven to seek assistance outside the Western community. Can we in the more developed countries, while holding firm to our beliefs about the way our own society should be organized, accept the fact

that other countries with widely differing problems may yet accept alternative ways to improve their material conditions? Or must we fall into the insidious error which Karl Marx has instilled into so much of our thinking about political and economic problems, namely that there is only one high

AMBASSADOR PADMORE SEES BENEFIT IN COOPERATION

The following excerpts are from a lecture prepared by His Excellency George A. Padmore, Liberian Ambassador to the United States, for the Fourth Annual Session of The Warren R. Austin Institute in World Understanding at the University of Vermont in July.

"... in recent decades Africa—its total area being about 19% of the earth's land surface—has been supplying the world, despite limited capital investments, with 12% to 14% of its asbestos, 10% to 15% of its tin, 18% to 20% of its copper, 20% to 40% of its vanadium, 30% to 40% of its phosphate rock, 35% to 40% of its chromite, 20% to 50% of its manganese (U.S.S.R. omitted), 45% to 55% of its gold, 60% to 65% of its uranium, 80% to 85% of its cobalt, 90% to 95% of its columbite and 97% to 98% of its gem and industrial diamonds.

"With respect to forest and vegetable resources, Africa in recent years has likewise been supplying the world with 60%-65% of its palm oil, 60%-70% of its cocoa, 60%-75% of its sisal, 80%-85% of its gum arabic and 90%-95% of its pyrethrum, from which the best insecticides are made. Added to this observation is the fact that much of tropical Africa, because of the vast extent and the high carrying capacity of its arable lands, is already or is capable of becoming the world's largest producer of tropical hardwoods—ebony, mahogany, teak—citrus fruits, maize, sweet potatoes, peanuts, cane sugar, cotton, oil-producing plants, forage crops and beef and dairy cattle . . .

"Finally it may be noted that tropical Africa, like Liberia, is capable of becoming, because of favorable climatic and soil conditions, one of the world's largest, if not the largest, rubber producing areas . . .

"It has been the recognition of tropical Africa's ability to meet essential Western needs that has done more than anything else to stimulate the current interest of the Western industrial nations in the development of tropical African lands . . .

"Current economic relationships between Africa and the West have proved to be mutually beneficial to the peoples of both areas. Especially has this been true in those parts of Africa where the African peoples themselves have exercised the controlling influence in determining national economic programs . . ."



"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include student loan and scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

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Membership

Annual Membership \$3, student membership \$1; includes receipt of "Africa Special Report."

Institute Adds Livingston, Smyke To Staff

The appointments of John M. Livingston and Raymond J. Smyke as staff associates of the African-American Institute have been announced by the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Livingston will administer the student and visitors programs, while Mr. Smyke will handle Institute business management, teacher placement and liaison with the West Africa office.

Mr. Livingston was a Fulbright scholar in Egypt and the Sudan in 1952-53, prior to serving in the U.S. Army. Born in San Francisco, he received the B.A. degree from Stanford University and the M.A. from Columbia University, where he studied 19th Century British Colonial Policy in South Africa.

Mr. Smyke received his M.A. degree last June from Boston University where he was an affiliate of the African Research and Studies Program, working as research assistant to Dr. Carl G. Rosberg. He completed his undergraduate work at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. He is from Rochester, New York.

INSTITUTE HAS A NEW NAME

The Board of Trustees has voted to change the name of the Institute of African-American Relations to "The African-American Institute, Incorporated." It was felt the new title would be less cumbersome for the Institute and the public.



E. JEFFERSON MURPHY, Director-Designate of the Institute's planned West Africa office, chats with Mr. Richard Akwei, Second Secretary of the Ghana Embassy, at a farewell party for Mr. and Mrs. Murphy held last month at Africa House in Washington. The Murphys left by plane August 15 for Europe and Africa to complete arrangements for the establishment of the new office. Murphy, known to friends as "Pat," has been Institute program director since 1953 and was responsible for setting up the Institute's scholarship and student assistance programs.

Alan Pifer, Dana Creel Join Institute Board

Alan Pifer, Executive Assistant, British Dominions and Colonies Program, Carnegie Corporation of New York, and Dana S. Creel, Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, were elected to the Board of Trustees of the African-American Institute on July 29.

A graduate of Harvard business administration school and Emory law school, Mr. Creel has been associated with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his sons in philanthropic matters since 1940. He has been director of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund since 1951 and is also Executive Director of the Sealantic Fund, Inc., and President of Sleepy Hollow Restoration, Inc.

Mr. Pifer was elected chairman of the Institute scholarship committee. A graduate of Harvard, he studied at Cambridge University, England, and for five years administered the Fulbright Program in the United Kingdom as secretary of the United States Educational Commission there.

Institute Administers Extensive African Student Program

Since its inception, the African-American Institute has been concerned with the development of an effective scholarship and assistance program for African students in the United States. The Institute's program has consisted primarily of augmenting the resources of the most deserving African students already in American institutions of higher learning. It is the most extensive privately sponsored program in America devoted exclusively to African students.

A new and limited facet of the scholarship program is the sponsoring and the transporting of carefully selected African students to America. The prospective opening of the Institute's West African office is expected to further this part of the program. Already the Institute has brought over several students and is now sponsoring five more for the academic year 1957-58. The evaluation of overseas applicants is recognized as an imposing responsibility requiring the most thorough checking of records and recommendations.

In certain instances the Institute also attempts to make provision for emergency grants and loans. These are generally very small to cover emergencies, or to provide stop-gaps when students' stipends from other sources have been delayed or interrupted.

The Institute has been active in counseling students and in interesting other assistance agencies in their cases. It has endeavored to find scholarships for candidates who

*Prepared by John M. Livingston,
Staff Associate, Student Program*

have needed more extensive support than the Institute has been able to provide. Other institutions have often cooperated closely in providing aid on a "fifty-fifty" basis.

Extensive contact with universities and colleges must be maintained by the staff associate in charge of the scholarship and assistance programs. Tours have been necessary for the purpose of interviewing new applicants, talking with students already under Institute sponsorship, and securing the counsel of Deans and foreign student advisors.

An important objective of the scholarship program is to help secure educational opportunities for those students who will contribute constructively to the economic, political and social development of their countries. When a student is being considered for scholarship assistance, a number of questions must be answered affirmatively:

1. Does he have a well-defined and carefully thought out study program?
2. Has he achieved a good academic record?
3. Do his advisors and teachers have favorable opinions of his intellectual qualities, his sincerity, and his maturity?
4. Has he shown initiative and self-reliance in financing his studies? (Almost all applicants have had to provide some of their own funds through part-time and summer jobs.)

The following is a list of the students who have received scholarship aid from the African-American Institute since 1954. Some of the grants were very small; others constituted extensive support. Asterisk indicates students whose applications were received from Africa.

GHANA

ABDALLAH, Emmanuel, Columbia Univ., econ., 1955.
AMPONSEM, Boa, Lincoln Univ., pub. admin., 1956.
BOATENG, George, Cornell Univ., agric., 1955.
*CLOTTIE, St. John, Tuskegee Inst., vet. medicine, 1957.

DARKO, Kofi, Howard Univ., econ., 1955, 56.
LOMOTETEY, Joseph, Columbia Univ., social work, 1955-57.
MARKWEI, Matei, Lincoln Univ., theology, 1957.
TURKSON, Yaw, Tufts Univ., int'l rels., 1957.

ETHIOPIA

*DAMASSA, Abose, Morgan State Coll., econ., 1957.
TADDESSA, Befeqadu, Boston Univ., gov't., 1957.

FR. TOGOLAND

ADOBOLI, Eugene, New York Univ., hist., 1956, 57.

KENYA

*DOUGLAS, John, Central State Coll., educ., 1957.
GATHERU, Mugo, New York Univ., hist., 1956, 57.
GECAU, Julius, Univ. of Chicago, econ., 1955, 56.
KIMANI, George, Rutgers Univ., math., 1955.
*KIMANI, James, Lincoln Univ., pub. admin., 1956, 57.
*MWANGI, Florence, Smith Coll., sci., 1957.
*MWANGI, Philip, Morgan State Coll., sci., 1957.
*NG'WENO, Hilarius, Harvard Univ., radiology, 1957.
*NJURURI, Ngumbu, Central State Coll., soc. sci., 1956.
OTHIENO, Jacob, Iowa State Coll., social work, 1956.
OPENDA, Hezekiah, Oberlin Coll., bot., forestry, 1957.
OKOLO, Thomas, Howard Univ., soc., 1957.

LIBERIA

*DUNYE, George, La Salle Coll., bus. admin., 1956, 57.
GADEGBEKU, Polycarp, Howard Univ., zool., chem., 1955-57.
*VARFLEY, Henry, Central State Coll., mechanics, 1956, 57.
WREH, S. Tuan, Kendall Coll., journ., 1957.

NIGERIA

ABADOM, Paul, Univ. of Rochester, dentistry, 1957.
AKINWUMI, Alfred, Purdue Univ., civ. eng., 1956.
ANENE, Ebenezer, Purdue Univ., civ. eng., 1956.
APOESO, Titus, Howard Univ., medicine, 1956.
BASSEY, Asumah, Wharton Sch. of Finance, bus. admin., 1956.
EKWEBELEM, Zacchaeus, Georgetown Univ., gov't., 1957.
ESSIEN-UDOM, E., Univ. of Chicago, int'l rel., 1956, 57.
EZEBUKWU, Michael, Loyola Univ., medicine, 1957.
GRILLO, Isaac, Kansas Univ., medicine, 1957.
IDEM, Okon, American Univ., pub. rels., 1956, 57.
KOTUN, Victor, New York Univ., econ., 1955, 56.
KUYORO, Adeyemi, Purdue Univ., bus. admin., 1956.
LAJA, Adenohunnu, Howard Univ., medicine, 1956.
MASHA, Alabi, Univ. of Michigan, gov't., law, 1955, 56.
NDUKA, Matthew, Howard Univ., math., 1957.
NZERIBE, Ben, Cornell Univ., econ., 1956.
ODENIGWE, Godwin, Clark Univ., hist., 1957.
OKAFOR, Gregory, Howard Univ., arch., 1957.
OKIGBO, Bede, Cornell Univ., agric., 1956.
OKORIE, Ogba, Michigan State Univ., eng., 1957.
*OKWUOSA, Chukwude, Morgan State Coll., hist., 1955-57.
OTON, Esuakema, Northwestern Univ., journ., 1956.
SAMA, Sama, Univ. of Louisville, medicine, 1956.
UNOOGWU, Patrick, Univ. of Cincinnati, anthro., 1955, 56.

NORTHERN RHODESIA

*MUNDIA, Nalumino, Atlanta Univ., bus. admin., 1956, 57.

SIERRA LEONE

ABDULLAH, S. Alieu, Howard Univ., dentistry, 1956.
COKER, Miriam, Parsons Sch. of Design, design, 1955.
RENTER, Walter, New York Univ., pub. admin., 1955.

SOMALIA

HERZI, Abdurahman, Lincoln Univ., econ., 1955-57.
MIRREH, Hassan, Lincoln Univ., econ., 1955-57.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

KERINA, Mburumb, New Sch. of Social and Political Research, pol. sci., 1954, 55.

SUDAN

HOSNI, Sayed, Columbia Univ., int'l law, 1957.

TANGANYIKA

KRAZYNISKI, Leonard, State Coll. of Wash., civ. eng., 1956.

UGANDA

ALIKER, Martin, Northwestern Univ., dentistry, 1956, 57.
KAGWA, Juanita, Howard Univ., medicine, 1957.
KAGWA, Mary, Howard Univ., dentistry, 1956, 57.
*OJERA, Alexander, Lincoln Univ., math., 1956, 57.

Rock Hudson in Kenya: something of value?

BY ST. CLAIR DRAKE

This is not the first film about Mau Mau which has been shown in the United States. One very crude piece, billed as *Mau Mau*, is still being exhibited with advertisements that scream: "Africa Explodes With Naked Terror!"—"Raw! Real! Un-Censored!"—"See the Savage Mau Mau Blood Ritual!"—"See Savage Jungle Atrocities That Will Make You Gasp!"—"See Women Ravaged by Marauding Night Raiders!"

Somewhat more restrained publicity is being used to "sell" *Something of Value*. East African students with whom I have discussed the film, however, are inclined to feel that, although there may be nuggets of value in it, there are also dangers that the American public will only see what the publicity has prepared it to see. Some of the students feel that the social content will be ignored and that viewers will remember only the haunting look of a mutilated Elisabeth crawling along the floor of her wrecked home after a Mau Mau raid, or the Kikuyu "superstitions," or the repellent aspects of the oath-taking. They feel that Americans will feel that Kenya Africans are not yet ready for the equality—or even the justice—which they demand.

These reactions of Africans to *Something of Value* point up the fact that we really know very little about what the impact of Hollywood films about Africa is upon American mass audiences.

There is some feeling among these stu-

dents that we have had enough talk of Mau Mau for the past three years; that the issues are too complex to be clarified in a motion picture; that despite the fact that less than a hundred Europeans were killed in Mau Mau raids, such pictures leave an impression of wholesale slaughter. (One non-Kenyan from East Africa had the reverse reaction. He accused the film of implying that only Africans were killed in large numbers and of concealing the fact that Africans killed many white people, too.) One Kenya African commented, half jokingly, "I'd like every African student to see the picture, but no Americans." (He had heard a woman saying, "Those savages!" in the row behind him.) I would go farther and say, "It might be good if every Kenyan—white and black—could see the picture, in Kenya." It might have a therapeutic effect on both.

Kenya settlers will, no doubt, accuse this picture of "white washing" Mau Mau. For instance, the "advanced" Mau Mau oath, spun out in all its gory and revolting detail by Ruark, is eliminated. The simple "first stage" oath is portrayed with the oath-giver explaining the symbolic meaning of the banana arch, the sugar cane, the earth pressed to the body, and the meaning of the mystic number, "7." The sipping of the ram's blood and the bleeding of the seven cuts on the initiate's arm are the only acts likely to turn the stomachs of the squeamish.

Ruark states in the foreword to his novel about the Mau Mau crisis in Kenya, *Something of Value*, that "this is not a pretty book . . . and certainly is not a political book." All of his characters, however, are involved in "politics" in the broadest meaning of that term. It is this aspect of their relations that Director Brooks has chosen to emphasize in re-writing the story for a M-G-M screen production.

Ruark's hero, Peter, is a "white hunter" type, rarely given to soul searching or pondering the problem of social justice. In transferring the story to the screen, Brooks has transformed him into a sensitive young man concerned with Kenya's future and with his personal relations with Kimani, his Kikuyu childhood playmate, who had become a Mau Mau leader after taking the oath with some reluctance. Brooks refashioned the role of Kimani so that the American Negro actor, Sidney Poitier, who plays the part, emerges as a co-star with Rock Hudson who plays Peter. Kimani has taken the sword and the Mau Mau oath with some reluctance, but once "in" he becomes a leader. It is a tribute to the skill of both actors that the film remains an absorbing drama and does not slip into



Professor Drake is an anthropologist at Roosevelt University and a close student of African affairs. His *Black Metropolis*, co-authored with Horace Cayton, is a classic study. Photo shows him (center) doing field interviews in Ghana.

either maudlin sentimentality or mere propaganda for a Capricorn Contract solution to Kenya's racial problem.

The book must have been a difficult one to rewrite for the screen—so diffuse was the action and so realistic the treatment of torture and butchery. Ruark's basic idea that the Africans have lost cultural values which have not yet been replaced comes through sharply in only one scene, the trial of Kimani's father—a well cast character who defends the old way with quiet dignity. This is a picture of social significance, presented with artistry, good taste and restraint. (The faces of minor characters are often beautifully photographed and speak volumes.) For anyone concerned with African problems, Ruark's book contains something of value. The film has much of value.

The crisis begins as it does in the book with Bwana Jeff's white fist crashing into Kimani's black face to teach him a gun-bearer's place and to teach Peter that "Blacks are blacks and not playmates" and that there will be no racial equality "in our lifetime." Peter of the film protest with a fervor quite alien to Peter of the book: "I don't believe it! I don't like it! You can't play with them and then one day say, 'It's all over!'" Kimani runs away in anger, setting the dominant action pattern of the film; for time and again, Kimani is in flight—across the savannah, over Nairobi rooftops, up mountain slopes—with Peter in pursuit, trying to explain and persuade, protesting his friendship, pleading for reconciliation.

As in the book, Peter takes Kimani's child to his sister, Elisabeth, to be reared with her child. He remarks, significantly, "maybe it's not too late. Maybe for them it will be better." But the film gives no answer to this fundamental question, "How?" History, not the scenario writer, must provide that answer.



From *Something of Value*, an M-G-M picture.

Ban on Nyerere Lifted; Will Enter Tanganyika LEGCO

The Tanganyika Government has lifted its speaking ban on African nationalist leader Julius Nyerere and has offered Nyerere one of the ten representative African seats on the trust territory's Legislative Council. Nyerere, who had been banned from addressing public meetings since his return to Tanganyika in February from a trip to Britain and the United States, accepted the legislative post and was expected to take his seat when the council meets in Dar-es-Salaam this month.

No official comment was immediately available to explain the latest action, which occurred shortly after Nyerere returned in July from another trip to the United States where he addressed the U.N. Fourth Committee. By occupying a representative, rather

than "official" or Government seat, Nyerere will be free to expound the ideas of his organization, the Tanganyika African National Union, in the legislative body.

Last month, the London *Times* carried a letter describing celebrations in Tanga, a dock city on the Indian Ocean, following the lifting of the ban and Nyerere's nomination to the Legislative Council. The letter read in part: ". . . tonight lorry-loads of Africans passed my window singing and cheering, carrying banners with the name of Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, the President of the Tanganyika African National Union, and Sir Edward Twining, the Governor of Tanganyika . . . the behavior of these people, many ill-educated and extremely poor, in face of treatment which your recent leading article described as "perhaps unnecessarily repressive" has been dignified and restrained, and augurs well for the stability of this nascent African democracy, on which the future of Central and East Africa may well turn."

(During a visit to Washington in July, Nyerere told *Africa Special Report* the "most important task" in Tanganyika would be to demonstrate the ability of an African-controlled government to deal with the problems of a multi-racial society and protect the rights of immigrant minorities. He said he felt Tanganyika could set an example for other multi-racial territories and that this would be "our greatest contribution" to Africa.) —R. C. K.

* * *

Two political parties are active in Tanganyika, the Tanganyika African National Union and the United Tanganyika Party. The following description of these parties was prepared by Richard E. Webb, African Specialist, British Information Service, New York:

TANU

The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) is the only organized African political party and is the focus of African nationalism. Its membership was stated to be 25,000 in 1955, and was said to be 60,000 by the middle of 1956. At the end of 1956, Julius K. Nyerere, its President, claimed a membership of 100,000 (the African population of Tanganyika is 8,205,000). Most of its members come from the coastal areas, about a quarter of them from in and around Dar-es-Salaam.

Politically, the main object of TANU is

stated to be to prepare the African people of Tanganyika for independence with a predominantly African government, the interests of minorities being protected. It also wants a declaration from the British Government that the ultimate goal in Tanganyika is democratic self-government, by which is meant government by the majority based on universal adult suffrage with constitutional protection for minority communities.

As a result of activities which the government felt were likely to prejudice the maintenance of peace, order and good government, the Korogwe, Handeni and Pangani branches of TANU were closed by the government, the former in January and the latter two in April of this year. These branches had set themselves in opposition to the government and the Native Authorities and in some cases had attempted to usurp the authority of government or the Native Authorities.

Apart from directly illegal activity these branches had also made it their policy to stir up racial friction by the exploitation of grievances however small, local or unfounded.

In a statement issued at the time of the closing of the TANU branches, however, the government made it clear that it "wishes to see the natural growth of political parties, whether purely African or not. Hence the high degree of tolerance which has been shown with regard to certain activities of some other branches of TANU."

MULTI-RACIAL PARTY

The United Tanganyika Party (UTP) was started in early 1956 and has wide support among the nominated unofficial members of all races in Legislative Council in addition to its membership in the country. Its program looks to the cooperation of all races resident in the territory in fostering its political, social and economic development, and while it recognizes that the government of a future self-governing Tanganyika will be largely African, it believes that the speed of this development must depend on African progress and preparedness.

Its membership at the end of its first year was about 10,000 of all races, and it has now embarked on a program designed to improve its organization and recruiting and to publicize its declared policy.

A UTP delegation visited London in early 1957 to interest commercial firms in Tanganyika, win the support of the British Government and the Colonial Office, and secure Labour Party backing for continuity of British policy.

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Unwritten chapters . . .

A History of SOUTHERN AFRICA.

by Eric A. Walker. 924 pp.

London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd.

BY C. W. DE KIEWIET

A South African journalist recently told me that the last generation of students of South African history has been raised on a diet of Walker and de Kiewiet. I do not say this to establish pride by association for myself or guilt by association for Eric Walker, even though he is always prescribed where I am sometimes proscribed. A little unnecessarily, no doubt, I want to establish a very great familiarity with this book, from its first to its last edition.

Eric Walker is the point of departure for any serious study of the history of Southern Africa. This is one of the most thoroughly revised books I know. No one would think of writing any serious piece on the history of Southern Africa without consulting its text, its footnotes and its splendid bibliography. It is one of the few textbooks which is also a major work of reference. More than once after what I hoped was an exhaustive library search have I turned to Eric Walker to discover books that I had missed, references that I had overlooked or facts that I had ignored. More than once have I deceived myself that I was on untrdden historical ground, only to come across Walker's footsteps before me.

An imposing array of facts marches from chapter to chapter, in orderly, compact, comprehensive progression. The condensation is most workmanlike, yet relieved by sharp flashes of wit, or an unexpected allusion from the classics or the Bible. The page heading for the Jameson Raid—"Fizzle" is delightfully rude and right. Some of the best of the book, as was true of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, is in the footnotes. The text, the footnotes and the bibliography reveal the teamwork between great industry and a fine memory. Nothing seems to be missed; everything seems to be in its place.

Walker's writing is like certain paintings of Ghirlandaio, where the whole tableau is made up of a myriad of details, each sharply and accurately rendered; or maybe like the work of the f/64 school of photographers who stop down their lenses to bring an entire landscape into focus from foreground to horizon.

This history is for the student who can come back for repeated looks. It is not for the reader who wants to take a quick look to get the bold outlines of historical development. The proper recipe is to read Walker, read a dozen other books and then come back to Walker. In this way it becomes possible to develop fully the latent meaning in these tightly packed pages. The disastrous riots between Indians and Zulus in 1949 are described in a single paragraph. Yet the first two sentences alone contain many of the seeds that could be made to grow into

ERIC WALKER'S just revised *History of Southern Africa* is reviewed for *Africa Special Report* by a fellow historian who has been closely identified with the Union of South Africa since childhood. Dr. de Kiewiet is President of the University of Rochester and a former acting president of Cornell. He received the A.B. and A.M. degrees from the University of Witwatersrand and holds the Ph.D. from the University of London as well as several honorary degrees from colleges in the United States. Born in Rotterdam, he became a U. S. citizen in 1939 and assumed his present position in 1951. His works include *British Colonial Policy and the South African Republics* (London 1929), *The Imperial Factor in South Africa* (Cambridge 1937), *A History of South Africa* (Oxford 1941) and *The Anatomy of South African Misery* (London 1956), as well as numerous articles.



Dr. de Kiewiet

a full appraisal of this ominous event. "There now came a reminder that intolerance and racialism were not monopolies of the white folk. On January 14, 1949, in Durban, a young Zulu, member of a proud and warlike race, was assaulted by a swindling Indian shopkeeper, heir to the age-old trading tradition of Southern India." There are scores of these terse statements that could be profitably given to a graduate student with the assignment of rewriting it in thirty or forty pages of fully developed meaning and analysis. This is praise of course. It is also criticism.

The great array of facts marches at the same pace, almost measurable by the clock and the rule, right to the end of 924 pages. If one wants to sit down to find out just how Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain worked together on the Jameson Raid, one is hurried on to the next episode leading to the tragedy of the Boer War. There is time only for the thumbnail sketch, never the portrait, time for the shrewd hint at motive, not for the full paragraphs of understanding explanation, time for the quick allusion, but not for the creative synthesis that fires the imagination. Walker's contemporary as student and teacher, W. M. Macmillan, sometimes left his facts behind him in his effort to attack the myths and self-deception of South African history, and to establish the realistic proportions between the life and labor of white and black. Accordingly, though never the craftsman that Walker is, he disturbed guilty consciences, needled bureaucratic complacency, upset the house of cards that the Colonial Office once lived in, and generally proved the point that history at its best is not an interest in the past, but a concern about the future.

Men in this country are turning to novels and treatises on South Africa because they recognize that the subcontinent is a piece of a world in crisis. There is a galvanic circuit that goes from Johannesburg to Nairobi, from Nairobi to Cairo, from Cairo to the Middle East and on to all the points where the explosive racial and national reassessments of the modern world are taking place. Not even the great gold and diamond mines of South Africa ever became as much a part of world history as the racial policies of the present day. It is no longer completely ridiculous to think of South Africa as one of the world's tinder boxes.

A very suggestive piece of reading would be to take Chapters XII and XIII, which deal with the period just before the Boer War, and then skip over to Chapters XVI and XVII which deal with the return to power of the heirs of the defeated Dutch republican leaders. It is impossible to miss the repetition of the same themes, even more impossible to miss the effort of Verwoerd and Strydom to force the XXth century into the mould of the XIXth century. There is more than sarcasm in proposing that if South African leaders insist on seeking redress for the tragedy and rancor of past unhappy days, they should return still farther to the so-called Kaffir Wars, the Basuto Wars, and the Zulu Wars. Here there is a vastly grimmer persistence of historical themes, and a more serious threat of revived conflict between black and white. Here, too, are defeats that are beginning to clamor in the language of economics and constitutional law for review and modern redress. Employment has taken the place of grass and water, human rights of cattle herds, urban slums of kraals. The defeats that forced the native population out of the narrow and unambitious world of the pastoral tribe into the area of modern industry and world trade, have brought them to a place where they too can begin to understand their own history and the world in which it is happening. More vocally and aggressively each year the African is striving to recapture as a wage earner the losses he endured as a herdsman. Walker does not really do justice to the rise of an angry and vocal self-awareness in the native population. But if there is a fourth edition of his book almost certainly there will be new chapters dealing with events which will be the result of efforts made by black men to force South Africa to catch up with a modern world in which the tide has turned against the gross discriminations of race and color. Today no man knows whether these chapters will deal with laws and economics and education, or with tragedy and bloodshed. Unlike Alan Paton who has become a liberal because he has lost hope, I am still not quite convinced that these unwritten chapters will be read through the haze of a survivor's tears. But I do wonder.

London Conferencee Seek to Unravel Africa's Past

This summer, after a four-year interim, a Second Conference on African History and Archeology was held at the School of Oriental & African Studies, London. Daniel F. McCall, Research Associate with the Boston University African Research and Studies Program, attended the conference as representative of the Boston Program.

BY DANIEL F. McCALL

From the 16th to the 19th of July, over a hundred scholars from several countries gathered in London to share the results of their research in unraveling the past of Africa and to discuss the problems of the task. Historians, archivists, archeologists, and social anthropologists had several days to discuss the contributions of their various disciplines to common problems.

The amount of work which has been done and the number of projects outlined or in progress is extremely impressive. This is especially so since it is only a few years since the myth that Africa was a continent without history was virtually unchallenged. Of course, the myth is still accepted in many places, notably in the United States, where only a handful of individuals have ever been concerned with the subject, most of them approaching it from a point of view either narrower or wider than African history as such. The history of the "expansion of Europe," exploration, and "the partition of Africa" focus largely on the activities of Europeans in Africa; this is a part of African history, but only a part. Negro history is broader than African history in most respects except that it excludes the Berbers and other non-Negro Africans; much of the research and writing in this country under this rubric has concerned the Negro in the new world.

In Europe the category Negro History is almost nonexistent, but the conference had several representatives of the school that concentrates on the activities of Europeans in Africa. For those who take a purist's definition, it is the only history, because written documents begin with the period of European contact with the exception of the Arabic, Meroitic sources, etc. Professor Graham cogently urged consideration of a priority of such history because it represented a dominant motif of an historical epoch and determined the conditions of emerging nations whose individual histories would

RESEARCH ON AFRICA

Van Doren, Irene S. THE BRITISH EAST AFRICAN TRANSPORT COMPLEX December, 1954

Randell, Dorrell G. FACTORS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE OKOVANGO RIVER DELTA April, 1957.

Lerimore, Ann E. THE ALIEN TOWNS: PATTERNS OF SETTLEMENT IN BUSOGA, UGANDA (in preparation)

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be incomprehensible if not viewed against the background of the expansion of Europe not only into Africa but into the Americas, Australia, and other areas; the influence of European culture provides much of the unity in the present day world, e.g., Ghana's Legislative Assembly is a continuation of the tradition of England's Parliament. Professor Graham's position is not unsympathetic to the development of a more inclusive African history but he wishes to emphasize a point which he feels is of especial importance. It is obvious that more than one point of view is possible; happily there are scholars willing to pursue the quest of historical knowledge according to the various precepts so that eventually we shall undoubtedly have a rounded picture.

The issues here border on a danger of distortion of historical truth. If historical writing tends to stress the 'contributions' of this or that group, history may easily become ancillary to the political arenas. Nationalists and imperial apologists can both quote and/or interpret the history; but if it is written as a justification of the one or the other it can scarcely help being incomplete, at least, if not actually distorted.

A large part of the time of the conference was devoted to discussion of the problems of research. If the African past, prior to European contact, is to be revealed, scholars will have to deal with data that is from sources other than 'documents.' Archeology is obviously relevant and is a respectable source of knowledge, but problems of relating archeological data to other historical data remain to be faced. Oral tradition has been viewed by modern historians and anthropologists with considerable skepticism as a reliable source for historical writing. M. Vansinna has made a study of the arguments against oral tradition and presented an argument in favor of this body of material. Caution has to be used but he outlined a sound method of handling such data. Medieval historians, he said, have been quicker to see his point of view because many of their 'documents' were originally oral traditions which were finally recorded. The French scholars seemed more sympathetic to this approach and commonly refer to 'oral documentation.' One paper presented a method of using data from physical anthropology, in particular serology, to demonstrate genetic relationships of populations which is indispensable to evaluating theories of migrations. I was surprised that with the large number of linguists at the host institution that there was so little consideration of the possible contributions of linguistic science to historical investigation; E. Sapir's ("Time-Perspective") suggestions of 1916 still go neglected. There was not even any public discussion for the need of a critique for the few works which have utilized linguistic data—almost exclusively in an unscientific way.

The problems of teaching African history, especially in African schools, received attention in a special session.

These conferences will now be a permanent feature at four-year intervals; the possibility of a journal is being considered; recommendations for excavation of sites in particular regions were made to appropriate bodies; suggestions for cross-fertilization of history and archeology on the teaching levels were also made.

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Business notes . . .

SOUTH AFRICA offers "considerable potential market" for private investments, not only domestically but as "catalyst for the impending industrialization of neighboring Africa," according to the "Official Report of the 1957 U.S. Trade Mission to South Africa" prepared for Trade Missions Div., Bureau of Foreign Commerce, U.S. Dept. of Commerce.

The five-man Trade Mission talked with about 3,500 businessmen in groups, held about 400 individual consultations, included in their two-month industrial tour meetings with Chambers of Commerce, Rotary Clubs, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. They found that despite the problem of inadequate transportation facilities, lack of medium term bank financing for many businesses, high interest rates and a shortage of capital, South Africa's industrial development during the past two decades has been "impressive" and there exists "great potential" in commerce, industry, mining and agriculture.

The mission reported that liberalization of South Africa's import controls has created a demand from South African businessmen to represent American manufacturers. One reason: South Africans seem to prefer American-made products if they are available at competitive prices and terms.

Questions most frequently raised by South Africans concerned the possibility of raising the price of gold, the obtaining of more private investments from abroad. The complexity of South Africa's interracial problem is a serious concern among business people and its ultimate solution will be a determining factor in the future development of the country's economy, the report added.

UNITED STATES and Union of South Africa have signed an agreement for cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy. The power and research agreement is the first signed with a nation in Africa and covers information on reactor technology, health and safety measures, and medical, biological, agricultural and industrial uses of isotopes.

COMPLETE AND CURRENT trade list of business firms in British East Africa and Mauritius is being issued for United States exporters and importers by U.S. Department of Commerce. Compiled by the American Foreign Service, it consists of 145 pages listing 1,250 firms and is broken down by numerous categories.

REMINGTON RAND is building a plant in Pretoria North, Union of South Africa, to manufacture steel filing cabinets and probably electric shavers. The 75,000 square foot plant, Remington Rand's 23rd overseas plant, may assemble typewriters later.

AMERICAN CARS ASSEMBLED in South Africa from parts shipped from the United States will be eligible for importation into Kenya, the Kenya government announced. It is stated that an American car assembled in South Africa can be imported into Kenya for about \$280.00 less than when imported directly from the manufacturers.

THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT and the Cornell University Press have completed arrangements for publishing a 2,500-page Liberian law code.

"INVESTMENTS in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, Prospects and Regulations" is the title of a 111-page booklet which may help the American investor appraise these areas. Copies are available from the Belgian Embassy in Washington or from the Belgian Information and Public Relations Office, Brussels.

ETHIOPIA is taking steps to improve delivery and quality of coffee to the United States. In 1955 Ethiopia shipped \$31.2 million in goods to the U.S. including coffee valued at \$27.5 million for 1956, shipments totaled \$24.3 million with coffee valued at \$20.7 million.

IMPORTERS IN GHANA who have received dollar allocations now may use their quotas to buy any goods in the United States and Canada except petroleum products, explosives, ordnance, road motor vehicles, motion-picture film, and gold.

—Douglas Dies

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